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On the Language of the Sanuma and Pakidai
[Über die Sprache der Sanúma und Pakidái]

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114 During his stay among the Surára Indians, Hans Becher was able to compile an extensive vocabulary of their language. This still needs linguistic revision and further checking. Even now, however, it makes it possible to establish perfectly clearly the relationship of this language to the languages of the Waika /Waica/, [101] Širiana /Shiriana/, and Karimé. There is a very close correlation, apparent at first glance, which corresponds to the cultural unity of these Indian groups, whom Becher has classified under the name Yanomámi /Yanoama/.

The first vocabulary of a language of this group was published by Koch-Grünberg in 1913 and -- considerably expanded -- in 1928, and comes from the Širiana (Širianá) of the Uraricuera (and its tributary the Uraricapará) (1). In 1932 there appeared

1. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 458; 1928, pp. 302-308.

a vocabulary of the Karimé Indians of the Catrimani River compiled by G. Salathé (2). Further material was then published by

2. Salathé, 1932, pp. 314-316.

A. Vinci, who added to his travel account a vocabulary of the Waroma-Širiana (or -Waika, listed by him as Uaroma, Guaica and Sciricciana) on the Mereuari River (3). In 1954-55 C. Zerries

3. Vinci, 1936, pp. 364-367.

and M. Schuster collected as yet unpublished material among the Waika of the upper Orinoco, and in 1956 Becher presented his vocabulary from the Surára and a number of expressions from the Paúxiú. This, to my knowledge, is all that is known about these languages at present.

114 197 As early as 1913 Koch-Grünberg found that Širiana was independent of the neighboring Karaiben /Carib/ languages and apparently isolated (4). The latter view was adopted in 1924 by

4. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

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Rivet, who at that time set up in his classification of the American languages a Tariané linguistic family which included the Tariana and Walka (5). W. Schmidt, who was familiar with the larger

5. Rivet 1924, p. 678.

Tariana vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg, still unpublished at that time, was of the same opinion and wrote in 1926 that the language of the Tariana (Schiriana) "forms an isolated group along with those of the nearby Walka" (6). C. Loukotka, who took over the

6. Schmidt, 1926, p. 221.

revision and further working out of the classification from Rivet, retains the Tariané linguistic family, but adds to it Karind, which has meanwhile become known, and Pussinlaí, which is merely mentioned, but is unknown linguistically (7). Walka was also still

7. Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9.

undocumented at that time, but its inclusion in the family resulted from the assertion by Koch-Grünberg that "the language of the very light-colored Walka is very closely related to the Schiriana" (8).

8. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 431.

This assertion is now fully confirmed by the Walka notes of Zerries and Schuster. Up to the present time, however, the Pussinlaí has remained unconfirmed. The last version of the classification by Rivet and Loukotka, which appeared in 1952, introduces no change in the Tariana family (9).

9. Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1168.

J. A. Mason, in his comprehensive revision of the classification of South American languages undertaken for the Handbook of South American Indians, acknowledges the Tariana linguistic family

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(for him Shiriană, Shiriana), but disregards the unknown Pussaksă (10). His attempt at a classification of this family, in

10. Maam, 1950, p. 254.

which he subordinates the Waika (Waică) to the Siriana (Shiriană) /135/ and contains the two, put together as Waharibo (Guaharibo), Karimé (Carimé) (11), remains questionable (cf. p. ?). It has

11. Ibid.

been taken over and expanded by N. A. McQuown, however, whereby he again introduces the unknown Pussaksă and adds a questionable, likewise linguistically unknown Guaharibo (12).

12. McQuown, 1955.

Since in McQuown's work the classification is not clear, I am giving it here in the form of a table, in which I am retaining the not always fortunate orthography of McQuown:

2. 15. CHIRIANAN.

a. Guahariban. Ven. Br.

α. Chirians (861). N2-4° W61-64°30' Br.

β. Uaica (880). N1°30'-2° W62-4', N3°30' W63°30', N4° W61°? Br.; N1-3° W64°, N3° W63° Ven.

γ? Guaharibo (890). N3° W63° Ven. Br.

b. Carime (941). N4° W64° Br.

c. Pussaccas (944). N3° W64°? Br.

"Ven." means Venezuela, "Br." Brazil. the numbers in parentheses after the names of languages refer to McQuown's piece-maps. the other data are the geographical co-ordinates of the places where the languages are spoken or (if followed by ?) were spoken; in this connection it should be noted that Karimé erroneously appears on the north bank of the Unariconera instead of on the Catrimani, considerably to the south of it [approximately N1°30' W62°30'].

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Rivet, Schmidt, Loukotka, Mason, and McQuown all agree in regarding the Xiriana family as a more or less closed group for which it has not been possible to determine any closer relationship with other American linguistic families. On the other hand, Swadesh, in his most recent contribution to the classification of American languages, sets up a "Makro-Xiriana" group (for him macro-xiriana), which includes, besides the Xiriana family (for him xiriana), also the Čapakura family (chapakura) (13). This

13. Swadesh 1959, p. 20.

quite unexpected linkage, if it could be proved, would certainly raise very interesting and important questions for linguistics and ethnology, for the Čapakura family is found in the Guaporé basin, where it extends approximately between the tenth and sixteenth degrees south latitude over an axis formed by the 63rd degree west longitude. I therefore pursued the possibility of such a relationship and compared the languages of the Xiriana family with those of the Čapakura. Although in the process nine Čapakura languages were considered (14), a lexical relationship between the two

14. Čapakura, Kitemoka, Kapeka, Pawumwa, Itoo, Morê, Kumanê, Wanyam, and Kabixí.

linguistic families could not be established. Since Swadesh has not yet published any material as evidence for the relationship suggested by him (15), his results cannot yet be evaluated in a

15. Swadesh is preparing to publish this evidence soon under the title "Materiales para un diccionario comparativo de las lenguas amerindias /Material for a Comparative Dictionary of Amerindian Languages/"; cf. Swadesh, 1959, pp. 8-9.

case such as the present one. On the basis of my own investigation,

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114 however, Ciriana and Čapakura are still to be regarded as two
197 independent linguistic groups.

128 In the following, only a small selection of Surára words
197 are offered, along with the corresponding words of Waika (according to Schuster) (16), Karimé (according to Salathé, 1932),

(122)

16. My sincerest thanks are due Herr Dr. Meinhard Schuster, Frankfurt, for the willingness with which he put at my disposal an excerpt of the Waika linguistic material that he is working on.

Širianá (according to Koch-Grünberg, 1928), and Warema (according to Vinci, 1956), in order to illustrate the close relationship that exists between these languages. The chief criterion for the selection was the availability of documented forms in the five languages; moreover, care was also taken to draw on words of a "non-cultural" nature for the most part, that is, /136/ those that are not so frequently taken over by neighboring languages and thus -- if agreeing morphologically and in meaning -- represent stronger proof of the genetic relationship of the languages com-
114 pared. Becher's linguistic notes were made chiefly with Surára informants; for the designations of body parts, however, there were also additional forms (marked by P) which a Pakidái informant gave him.

104 The transcription of the five lists has been standardized;
194 that of Karimé has also been simplified somewhat by the fact that two h and ɨ sounds not adequately described by Salathé have been reproduced simply as h and ɨ. With respect to the transcription, the following should be noted: ə = middle, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ɨ = high, back (or central), unrounded vowel; ã, etc. = nasal vowel; ɛ = open e; š = unvoiced, alveopalatal fricative; x = unvoiced, palatal fricative; ? = glottal stop; : = length for the previous sound.

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	Surára and *Pakidái*	*Waika*	*Karimé*	*Siriana*	*Waremá*
Tongue	*-íka, P -íka*	*-íka*	*-íga*	*-í:ga*	*-ʔakuán*
Tooth	*-náka, P -nák*	*-nák*	*-náka*	*-ná:ka*	*-nakuán*
Mouth	*-kahkã*	*-kãhkã*	*-gá:xikã*	*-gáxig*	*-khái*
Nose	*-kuãka, P -ruãka*	*-kãkãkã*	*-nakãkã*	*-kãkãpa*	*-kinčokã*
Eye	*-mámok, P -mámu*	*-mámok*	*-má:mu*	*-má:mũ*	*-mamó*
Ear	*-niamakáka, P -niamikáka*	*-yámakãh*	*-yamaka*	*-yamɨ̃'ka*	*-kinkawán*
Forehead	*-kúko, P -kúko*	*-kúko*	*-yakoko*	*-kɨ̃:ko*	
Head	*-ká*	*-ká*	*-yá:ká*	*-í:ka*	*-ká*
Head hair	*-kenák, P -kenák*	*-kaiawãi*	*-yakíntakã*	*-kãtá:ka*	*-konowán*
Arm	*-kóko, P -kóko*	*-kóko*	*-yápoko*	*-kó:ko*	*-pokuán*
Hand	*-ímaka, P -ímak*	*-ámik*	*-yámi*	*-ãtá:ka*	*-ʔamián*
Foot	*-mamáka, P -mamayaka*	*-mámik*	*-yámã*	*-mãkɨ̃'ka*	*-mainuán*
Knee	*-makáko*	*-makáko*	*-mákako*	*-makáka*	*-inomokuá*
Chest	*-kurúk, P -kurúk*	*-yukuléka*	*-yápárá*	*-kalêka*	*-lalíbá*
Water	*maɨ̃*	*mãi*	*maku*	*mãɨ̃'pa*	*maduí*
Fire	*kawahã*	*kéa wáka*	*oá:ká*	*oáka*	*kuadáh*
Rain	*maʔa*	*mã*		*mãã*	*maduán*
Wind	*ãkaká*	*waddíli*	*yá:rã*	*watá:li*	*ipohó, wal*
Sun	*pawiboámã, wataká*	*watáka*	*watáka*	*belip(a)ĩ*	*pilmoró*
Moon	*parámako*	*pãkãko*	*paré:ko*	*wãlí:ko*	*pulípuli*
Soil	*makãtaka*	*makãta*	*maká:ta*	*makãta*	*makãadá*
Mountain	*paatãko*	*makã*	*kaku*	*tatalá:mã*	*keimadá*
Stone	*makã*	*makãma*	*ma:ma*	*ma:makã*	*maʔdamá*
House	*wyatá*	*yámo*	*yá:mo*	*wyɨ̃'nó* (village)	*saiá*
Pot	*kabokã*	*kabóka*	*kãbokã*	*kapóga*	*kabokã*
Man	*wakaó*	*ãdãi*		*koró:mã*	*wanodá*
Woman	*maí*	*mãi*	*tuí*	*tkaytka-tí:ápáá:la*	*sutudn*
Mother	*nápa*	*nã*		*ná:pa*	*ibannatuá*
Tapir	*kámu*	*kámu*	*ká:ma*	*ká:ma*	*saʔmá*
Jaguar	*kwa*	*'ka*	*ãkã*	*dãkã*	*poʔkí*

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	Surára and Pakidái	Waika	Karimá	Sirióna	Waroma
Deer	hayá	háya	háia	haiíwa	a'?id
Maracajá	yaí	pídaidai	yauaná	tsaío	hi'?dauani (puma)
Cutia	tímã	tímã	naáiro	tí:ma	
Paca	amaíd	amáia		amáia	amaíd
Mutum	paruri	háhali	pá:ri	há:li	paháli
Jacamim	ayapía	yápi	yá:pi		
Jácaré	imí	ima	aíri	aí:li	inadamá
Fish	ya:ri	yáli	yáiri	mayáli-áp(i)ma	ámaí
Crayfish	aká	áka		áka	
Banana	hawaíd	hawaíd	hawa:íd	hainái:ka	ahamaináidi

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The languages have been arranged in such a way that those which seem to be nearest to the Surára lexically follow it directly, and those which differ from it the most come last. This gradation of similarity with respect to the Surára is given here, however, only on the basis of impressionistic findings, which, furthermore, rest only on an examination of language samples containing the above 40 words. It is therefore not a reliable basis for a linguistic classification of the entire group, though one may see in it an indication of the relationships of the individual languages to each other. In any case, support for the classifications of Mason and McQuown (pp. 1-3) cannot be drawn from it. /The bibliography on pp. 137-138 of the original source is omitted in the translation; see the foreign text./

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